113, 631, 642, 648 Kashmir AV1

[For information concerning temporary provisions in the Indian Constitution of 1950 pertaining to the State of Jammu and Kashmir, see 43: Santhanam, AW1 India, category 116, pp. 302-304.]

1: Drew
175, 648

AV1 Kashmir AV1

[For information pertaining to the history of relations between Kashmir and the Dardic states from 1842 - 1873, see category 116, pp. 398-399, 402-403, 406-407, 410-414, 435-455.]

1; Drew G-8 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir AV1



175 642 631

In the year 1843 the death of Raja Suchet Singh without issue caused the principality of Rāmnagar to fall to his eldest brother Gulāb Singh; so by this time that fortunate ruler had acquired all the territories included in the present boundary, with the exceptions of Kashmir, Gilgit, Rājāorī, and Pūnch, this last being occupied by Raja Jawāhir Singh, the son of Raja Dhiyān Singh, who, like Suchet Singh, had lately been killed near Lāhor.

175 642 631 648 557

The next event that changed the boundary was the breaking out of the war between the Sikhs and the British in the winter of 1845–6. Gulāb Singh had for some time kept aloof from Lāhor politics and was not involved in the court intrigues that led to the movement of the Sikh troops against British territory; neither did he hurry down with his troops to help the Sikhs as he would have done in the time of his old master Ranjīt Singh. He kept away until the decisive battle of Sobraon was fought, at which victory declared for the British. Then he appeared almost as mediator between the two contending powers, for after the various revolutions and massacres that had lately occurred at Lāhor, and the late defeats of the Sikh army, there seemed to be none but Gulāb Singh who could shape events, who could guide the Sikh nation to any sensible course. The confidence of the British too he had before acquired; especially had Sir Henry (then Colonel) Lawrence, who was now one of the diplomatic officers employed in the negotiations, formed both a friendship for Gulāb Singh and a high opinion of his sagacity and of his usefulness to those who could enlist his interests.

The result of all this is embodied in two treaties, which will be found, in whole or in part, in Appendix V.

By the first, which was made between the British Government as represented by Lord Hardinge, and the state of Lāhor, there was ceded to the East India Company in perpetual sovereignty, as equivalent for one crore of rupees (or 1,000,000*l.*) of indemnity, the hill countries between the rivers Byās and Indus. Thus all the countries we have been treating of, both those at that time in the hands of Raja Gulāb Singh, and Kashmir and others then directly ruled by the Sikhs, were on the 9th March, 1846, handed over to the British.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir AV1



But now comes the second treaty, dated 16th March, 1846. This was made between the British Government, represented by the Governor-General as before, and Maharaja Gulāb Singh, the higher title of Maharaja being by this very mention conferred. Its effect is this, that "the British Government transfers and makes over for ever, in independent possession, to Maharaja Golab Singh and the heirs male of his body, all the hilly or mountainous country, situated to the eastward of the river Indus and westward of the river Ravee,"* in consideration of which, by another article of the treaty, Maharaja Gulāb Singh agrees to pay to the British Government the sum of 75 lakhs of rupees—about 750,000*l.*

The result of this treaty (of which the other provisions can be learnt from the Appendix) was to place Gulāb Singh in a far better position than he had ever had before. He exchanged for the Sikhs, whose attitude to him was ever varying according to the favour in which he might be held by those who for the time were leaders of them, a nation whose boast it is that they hold treaties sacred, and who had now contracted with him a treaty, the provisions of which fairly carried out could not fail to be agreeable to him. Lastly he gained, in addition to his former acquisitions, the coveted country of Kashmir.

The handing over of Kashmir was not effected without some trouble. Maharaja Gulāb Singh sent a trusted officer with some troops to take over charge; he, however, was opposed by Shekh Imām-ud-dīn, the Sikh governor, who was supported in, or rather incited to, this course by a faction in the Lāhor Darbār who were adverse to the British. Gulāb Singh's troops were defeated at the outskirts of Sirīnagar and many were slain; a remnant, however, threw themselves into the fort called Hari Parbat and there held out. On this Gulāb Singh appealed to the British to carry out the provisions of the treaty, and action was at once taken. A force partly of British and partly of Sikh troops was put in motion, and they had even made one march within the hills from Bhimbar, when events turned in such a way that their advance was no longer necessary.

* For some remarks as to the effect of these words see Chap. XIX.

1; Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir AV1



175 669 648

For at this juncture Colonel Lawrence reappeared, having been absent from the Panjāb for some months on leave, and his diplomatic management staved off the collision that was imminent. Colonel Lawrence entered into correspondence with Shekh Imām-ud-dīn, the result of which was that the Shekh gave up the game and came away from Kashmir in peace, meeting on the road, at Thanna, Colonel Lawrence and Gulāb Singh, who then proceeded to Sirīnagar. The transfer of the country was thus completed without further disturbance.

175 648

One great object which the Governor-General had in view when he made this arrangement for the Jummoo and Kashmir territories was to lessen the force of the Sikhs by establishing on their flank a power independent of them and inclined to the British. This object may be said to have so far succeeded that, on the next and final trial of strength between the Sikhs and the British (which occurred two or three years later), Gulāb Singh's aid was withheld from the nation to which formerly belonged his allegiance. But the result of this last struggle, which was nothing less than the absorption of the Panjāb into the British Empire in India, rendered that object useless or superfluous. Hence some have been led to think that it was a great pity, a great mistake, to have made the treaty that separated Kashmir from the Panjāb, since, but for that, the oft-coveted country would have fallen into our hands at this time, namely in 1849. As far as this is a criticism of policy, and not merely regret at the loss of a possible piece of good fortune, it is enough to point out that in 1846 no one expected that the Panjāb would fall into our hands in 1849. At that former date we were arranging for the government of the Panjāb by its own native rulers—by the young Maharaja Dhuleep Singh and the Darbār or Council of Ministers. Our Government was hoping to form a stable government at Lāhor, and not reckoning on its downfall or its absorption by ourselves. Not till two years after the treaty had been entered into with Gulāb Singh did those events, at that time unforeseen, occur which are brought forward as reasons for not entering into that engagement.

Later political events have not largely affected the status of

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir AV1



the territories, nor much altered their boundaries. On the outbreak of the mutiny of 1857, Maharaja Gulāb Singh chose his side and threw in his lot with the British, moving down a force to aid in the siege of Delhi. Hardly had he done this when death overtook him. His surviving son, the present Maharaja, Ranbīr Singh, who was then on his way to the Panjāb with the troops, returned to take his place in the government of the country, while another commander proceeded to Delhi with the force.

Since that time all has been quiet, except on the north-west frontier, which has been the scene of oft-recurring small wars, some of which are recounted in Chapter XIX., on Dārdistān History. One other treaty has been made between the British Government and the Maharaja, which is given in full in Appendix V. This was done in 1870. It is a commercial treaty designed to open a particular route between the British hill-districts and the Yārkand country through a portion of the Maharaja's territory, which is necessarily traversed.

The countries thus acquired, and, by the political events of 1846, solidly compacted, are divided up for the purposes of government into regions whose limits correspond in some measure, but not altogether, to the old boundaries. In the "Political Map" I have indicated these administrative subdivisions, and in the explanation of it in Chapter XXII. I have shortly described the kind of authority established in each.

I should hardly complete this Introduction without saying a word as to myself—as to how it was that I came to travel over this country, to penetrate into corners of it that, if they have each been visited by different Europeans, have never so many been seen by anyone of that race, or even, I believe, by any native of any of those countries.

In 1862 I entered the Maharaja of Kashmir's service, leaving for it the Geological Survey of Great Britain, to which I then belonged, and came to his Court at Jummoo. My duties for some years were confined to geological investigation, or, more exactly, to looking for minerals. This pursuit naturally led me over many of the

1; Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir AV1



# APPENDIX V.

## TREATIES.

[*Nos.* 1 *and* 2 *are extracted from Aitchison's Collection of Treaties*, 1863, *Vol. II., Calcutta. No.* 3 *is from the Punjab Government Gazette, of* 26*th May*, 1870.]

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1. EXTRACTS from the TREATY between the BRITISH GOVERNMENT and the STATE OF LÂHOR, which was at the time nominally under MAHARAJA DHULEEP SINGH, really governed by the DARBÂR or COUNCIL OF MINISTERS.

* * * * * * * *

*Done at Lahore*, 9*th March*, 1846, *and ratified on the same day.*

*Article* III.—The Maharaja cedes to the Honorable Company, in perpetual sovereignty, all his forts, territories, and rights in the Doab or country, hill and plain, situated between the Rivers Beeas and Sutlej.

*Article* IV.—The British Government having demanded from the Lahore State, as indemnification for the expenses of the War, in addition to the cession of territory described in Art. III., payment of one and half crore of Rupees, and the Lahore Government, being unable to pay the whole of this sum at this time, or to give security satisfactory to the British Government for its eventual payment, the Maharaja cedes to the Hon'ble Company, in perpetual sovereignty, as equivalent for one crore of Rupees, all his forts, territories, rights and interests in the hill countries, which are situated between the Rivers Beeas and Indus, including the Provinces of Cashmere and Hazarah.

*Article* XII.—In consideration of the services rendered by Rajah Golab Singh, of Jummoo, to the Lahore State, towards procuring the restoration of the relations of amity between the Lahore and British Governments, the Maharaja hereby agrees to recognize the Independent Sovereignty of Rajah Golab Singh in such territories and districts in the hills as may be made over to the said Rajah Golab Singh, by separate agreement between himself and the British Government, with the dependencies thereof, which may have been in the Maharaja's possession since the time of the

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir AV1



648 late Maharaja Khurruck Singh, and the British Government, in consideration of the good conduct of Rajah Golab Singh, also agrees to recognize his independence in such territories, and to admit him to the privileges of a separate Treaty with the British Government.

*Article* XIII.—In the event of any dispute or difference arising between the Lahore State and Rajah Golab Singh, the same shall be referred to the arbitration of the British Government, and by its decision the Maharaja engages to abide.

(Signed) H. HARDINGE.
MAHARAJAH DHULEEP SINGH.
And by SEVEN MINISTERS.

2. TREATY between the BRITISH GOVERNMENT and MAHARAJA GOLAB SINGH OF JUMMOO.

*Done at Umritsur, 16th March*, 1846.

*Article* I.—The British Government transfers and makes over for ever, in independent possession, to Maharajah Golab Singh and the heirs male of his body, all the hilly or mountainous country, situated to the eastward of the River Indus and westward of the River Ravee, including Chumba and excluding Lahul, being part of the territories ceded to the British Government by the Lahore State, according to the provisions of Article IV. of the Treaty of Lahore, dated 9th March, 1846.

*Article* II.—The eastern boundary of the tract transferred by the foregoing Article to Maharaja Golab Singh shall be laid down by Commissioners appointed by the British Government and Maharajah Golab Singh respectively for that purpose, and shall be defined in a separate engagement after survey.

*Article* III.—In consideration of the transfer made to him and his heirs by the provision of the foregoing Articles, Maharajah Golab Singh will pay to the British Government the sum of Rupees (Nanukshahee), fifty lakhs to be paid on ratification of this Treaty, and twenty-five lakhs on or before the first October of the current year, A.D. 1846.

*Article* IV.—The limits of the territories of Maharaja Golab Singh shall not be at any time changed without the concurrence of the British Government.

*Article* V.—Maharajah Golab Singh will refer to the arbitration of the British Government any disputes or questions that may arise between

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir AV1



himself and the Government of Lahore or any other neighbouring State, and will abide by the decision of the British Government. 648

*Article* VI.—Maharajah Golab Singh engages for himself and heirs to join, with the whole of his Military Force, the British troops, when employed within the hills, or in the territories adjoining his possessions.

*Article* VII.—Maharajah Golab Singh engages never to take or retain in his service, any British subject, nor the subject of any European or American State, without the consent of the British Government.

*Article* VIII.—Maharaja Golab Singh engages to respect, in regard to the territory transferred to him, the provisions of Articles V., VI., and VII. of the separate Engagement between the British Government and the Lahore Durbar, dated March 11th, 1846.*

*Article* IX.—The British Government will give its aid to Maharajah Golab Singh in protecting his territories from external enemies.

*Article* X.—Maharajah Golab Singh acknowledges the supremacy of the British Government, and will in token of such supremacy present annually to the British Government one horse, twelve perfect shawl goats of approved breed (six male and six female), and three pair of Cashmere shawls.

(Signed) H. HARDINGE.

(Signed) F. CURRIE.

H. M. LAWRENCE.

By order of the Right Honorable the Governor-General of India.

(Signed) F. CURRIE,

*Secretary to the Government of India with the Governor-General.*

3. COMMERCIAL TREATY between the BRITISH GOVERNMENT and the MAHARAJA of KASHMIR, made in 1870; with the Rules for the guidance of the Joint Commissioners appointed under it.

Treaty between the British Government and His Highness Runbeer Sing, G.C.S.I., Maharaja of Jummoo and Cashmere, his heirs and successors, executed on the one part by Thomas Douglas Forsyth, C.B., in virtue of the full powers vested in him by His Excellency the Right Hon'ble Richard Southwell Bourke, Earl of Mayo, Viscount Mayo of

* Referring to Jāgirdārs, arrears of revenue, and the property in the forts that are to be transferred.

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648 Moneycrower, Baron Naas of Naas, K.P., G.M.S.I., P.C., &c., &c., &c., Viceroy and Governor-General of India, and on the other part by His Highness Maharaja Runbeer Sing, aforesaid, in person.

WHEREAS, in the interest of the high contracting parties and their respective subjects, it is deemed desirable to afford greater facilities than at present exist for the development and security of trade with Central Asia, the following Articles have, with this object, been agreed upon:

*Article* I.—With the consent of the Maharaja, officers of the British Government will be appointed to survey the trade-routes through the Maharaja's territories from the British frontier of Lahoul to the territories of the Ruler of Yarkand, including the route *viâ* the Changchenmo Valley. The Maharaja will depute an officer of his Government to accompany the surveyors, and will render them all the assistance in his power. A map of the routes surveyed will be made, an attested copy of which will be given to the Maharaja.

*Article* II.—Whichever route towards the Changchenmo Valley shall, after examination and survey as above, be declared by the British Government to be the best suited for the development of trade with Central Asia, shall be declared by the Maharaja to be a free highway in perpetuity and at all times for all travellers and traders.

*Article* III.—For the supervision and maintenance of the road in its entire length through the Maharaja's territories, the regulation of traffic on the free highway described in Article II., the enforcement of regulations that may hereafter be agreed upon, and the settlement of disputes between carriers, traders, travellers or others using that road, in which either of the parties or both of them are subjects of the British Government or of any foreign State, two Commissioners shall be annually appointed, one by the British Government and one by the Maharaja. In the discharge of their duties, and as regards the period of their residence, the Commissioners shall be guided by such rules as are now separately framed and may from time to time hereafter be laid down by the joint authority of the British Government and the Maharaja.

*Article* IV.—The jurisdiction of the Commissioners shall be defined by a line on each side of the road at a maximum width of two statute *kos*, except where it may be deemed by the Commissioners necessary to include a wider extent for grazing grounds. Within this maximum width, the surveyors appointed under Article I. shall demarcate and map the limits of jurisdiction which may be decided by the Commissioners as most suitable, including grazing grounds; and the jurisdiction of the Commissioners shall not extend beyond the limits so demarcated.

1; Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AVI Kashmir AVI



The land included within these limits shall remain in the Maharaja's independent possession; and, subject to the stipulations contained in this treaty, the Maharaja shall continue to possess the same rights of full sovereignty therein as in any other part of his territories, which rights shall not be interfered with in any way by the Joint Commissioners. 648

*Article* V.—The Maharaja agrees to give all possible assistance in enforcing the decisions of the Commissioners, and in preventing the breach or evasion of the Regulations established under Article III.

*Article* VI.—The Maharaja agrees that any person, whether a subject of the British Government, or of the Maharaja, or of the Ruler of Yarkand, or of any foreign State, may settle at any place within the jurisdiction of the Joint Commissioners, and may provide, keep, and maintain, and let for hire at different stages, the means of carriage and transport for the purposes of trade.

*Article* VII.—The two Commissioners shall be empowered to establish supply depôts, and to authorize other persons to establish supply depôts at such places on the road as may appear to them suitable; to fix the rates at which provisions shall be sold to traders, carriers, settlers, and others, and to fix the rent to be charged for the use of any rest-houses or serais that may be established on the road. The officers of the British Government in Kullu, &c., and the officers of the Maharaja in Ladakh, shall be instructed to use their best endeavours to supply provisions on the indent of the Commissioners at market rates.

*Article* VIII.—The Maharaja agrees to levy no transit duty whatever on the aforesaid highway; and the Maharaja further agrees to abolish all transit duties levied within his territories on goods transmitted in bond through His Highness' territories from Central Asia to India, and *vice versâ*, on which bulk may not be broken within the territories of His Highness. On goods imported into, or exported from, His Highness' territory, whether by the aforesaid free highway or by any other route, the Maharaja may levy such import or export duties as he may think fit.

*Article* IX.—The British Government agree to levy no duty on goods transmitted in bond through British India to Central Asia, or to the territories of His Highness the Maharaja. The British Government further agrees to abolish the export duties now levied on shawls and other textile fabrics manufactured in the territories of the Maharaja, and exported to countries beyond the limits of British India.

*Article* X.—This Treaty, consisting of ten Articles, has this day been concluded by Thomas Douglas Forsyth, C.B., in virtue of the full powers vested in him by His Excellency the Right Hon'ble Richard Southwell Bourke, Earl of Mayo, Viscount Mayo of Monycrower, Baron Naas of Naas, K.P., G.C.S.I., P.C., &c., &c., Viceroy and

1; Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AVI Kashmir AVI



● 648 Governor-General of India, on the part of the British Government, and by Maharaja Runbeer Sing, aforesaid; and it is agreed that a copy of this Treaty, duly ratified by His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General of India, shall be delivered to the Maharaja on or before the 7th September, 1870.

Signed, sealed, and exchanged on the second day of May in the year 1870 A.D., corresponding with the first day of Bysak Soodee Sumbut 1927.

(Signed) MAHARAJA RUNBEER SING.
(Signed) T. D. FORSYTH.
MAYO. (Seal).

This Treaty was ratified by His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General of India at Sealkote on the second day of May in the year 1870.

(Signed) C. U. AITCHISON,
*Officiating Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department.*

The following Rules for the guidance of the Joint Commissioners appointed under Article III. of the above Treaty are published for general information:

Rules for the guidance of the Joint Commissioners appointed for the new route to Eastern Turkistan.

I. As it is impossible, owing to the character of the climate, to retain the Commissioners throughout the year, the period during which they shall exercise their authority shall be taken to commence on 15th May and to end on 1st December, or till such further time as the passage of traders render their residence on the road necessary.

II. During the absence of either Commissioner, cases may be heard and decided by the other Commissioner, subject to appeal to the Joint Commissioners.

III. In the months when the Joint Commissioners are absent—i. e. between 1st December and 15th May—or the dates that may hereafter be determined, all cases which may arise shall be decided by the Wuzeer of Ladakh, subject to appeal to the Joint Commissioners.

IV. The Joint Commissioners shall not interfere in cases other than those which affect the development, freedom, and safety of the trade, and the objects for which the Treaty is concluded, and in which one of the parties or both are either British subjects, or subjects of a foreign State.

V. In civil disputes the Commissioners shall have power to dispose of all cases, whatever be the value of the property in litigation.

1; Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir AV1



VI. When the Commissioners agree their decision shall be final in all cases. When they are unable to agree the parties shall have the right of nominating a single arbitrator, and shall bind themselves in writing to abide by his award. Should the parties not be able to agree upon a single arbitrator, each party shall name one, and the two Commissioners shall name a third, and the decision of the majority of the arbitrators shall be final. 648 ●

VII. In criminal cases of the kind referred to in Clause IV., the powers of the Commissioners shall be limited to offences such as in British territory would be tried by a subordinate magistrate of the first Class, and as far as possible, the procedure of the Criminal Procedure Code shall be followed. Cases of a more heinous kind, and of offences against the special laws regarding religion in Cashmere, should be made over to the Maharaja for trial if the accused be not a European British subject; in the latter case, he should be forwarded to the nearest British Court of competent jurisdiction for trial.

VIII. All fines levied in criminal cases and all stamp receipts levied according to the rates in force for civil suits in the Maharaja's dominions shall be credited to the Cashmere Treasury. Persons sentenced to imprisonment shall, if British subjects, be sent to the nearest British jail. If not British subjects, the offenders shall be made over for imprisonment in the Maharaja's jails.

IX. If any places come within the line of road from which the towns of Leh, &c., are supplied with fuel, or wood for building purposes, the Joint Commissioners shall so arrange with the Wuzeer of Ladakh that those supplies are not interfered with.

X. Whatever transactions take place within the limits of the road shall be considered to refer to goods in bond. If a trader opens his load and disposes of a portion, he shall not be subject to any duty, so long as the goods are not taken for consumption into the Maharaja's territory across the line of road. And goods left for any length of time in the line of road subject to the jurisdiction of the Commissioners shall be free.

XI. Where a village lies within the jurisdiction of the Joint Commissioners, there, as regards the collection of revenue, or in any case where there is necessity for the interference of the usual Revenue authorities, in matters having no connection with trade, the Joint Commissioners have no power whatever to interfere; but, to prevent misunderstanding, it is advisable that the Revenue officials should first communicate with the Joint Commissioners before proceeding to take action against any person within their jurisdiction. The Joint Commissioners can then exercise their discretion to deliver up the person sought,

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir AV1



648 or to make a summary inquiry to ascertain whether their interference is necessary or not.

XII. The Maharaja agrees to give Rs. 5000 this year for the construction of the road and bridges, and in future years His Highness agrees to give Rs. 2000 per annum for the maintenance of the road and bridges.

Similarly, for the repairs of serais, a sum of Rs. 100 per annum for each serai will be given.

Should further expenditure be necessary, the Joint Commissioners will submit a special report to the Maharaja, and ask for a specific grant. This money will be expended by the Joint Commissioners, who will employ free labour at market rates for this purpose. The officers in Ladakh and in British territory shall be instructed to use their best endeavours to supply labourers on the indent of the Commissioners at market rates. No tolls shall be levied on the bridges on this line of road.

XIII. As a temporary arrangement, and until the line of road has been demarcated, or till the end of this year, the Joint Commissioners shall exercise the powers described in these Rules over the several roads taken by the traders through Ladakh from Lahoul and Spiti.

(Signed) MAHARAJA RUNBEER SING.

(Signed) T. D. FORSYTH.

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir AV1



499 651 to that centre, and here a few could still be bribed out. It was known that a large percentage would never return to their families. The years thinned the breadwinners, the fields were tended and the crops gathered by the old and very young.

[492] The hundreds of coolies were collected together at Bandipura; here they were loaded up with the sacks of food for the garrison, loads which were two and even three times the recognised pack of fifty pounds. In addition to this they had to carry their own rations, these being about two pounds of rice per day, a carrying crutch, a frame of sticks, rope for the back load, and topping all, a bundle of straw with which to make the straw shoes they would need. Their clothes and protection consisted of whatever they had brought for themselves; most had somehow managed to bring a blanket. It is little wonder that dozens died on the way, as they crossed the snow passes, slipped on the rough track, or dropped from weakness and exposure.

[517] The dreadful thing was that even when they eventually reached Gilgit there was always the chance that they would be sold into slavery or captured by the tribesmen of that part. Tyndale-Biscoe tells of the grandfather of one of his servants, who had been forced to make this march, being exchanged for a Chinese dog; later he escaped and somehow managed to return to the Valley to tell his story. And it was not unusual for those fortunate ones who were returning to be press-ganged again to carry loads that dead or sick men in caravans following had dropped; whilst there was no assurance that next year they might not again be taken.

499 ● 648 Then the threat of the Russian advance into India through Kashmir caused the Government of India to take over this Gilgit garrison, and in order to ensure maintenance of lines of communication, in 1892 a military road was made between Gilgit and Bandipura, the place where the coolies had been loaded, for there already existed a road as far as that town. The making of the road in those days was a great engineering achievement in the short space of time that it took. Pathans from the North-West Frontier were used for the work, at times they worked with spade in the hand and rifle at their elbow, the way being through tribal areas where the peoples resented the

2; Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir AV1
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making of a road; but despite all the difficulties it was completed. Much of the work and fighting undertaken in its making was described by Knight in his *Where Three Empires Meet*, a book which became a favourite prize for schoolboys in the Victorian age for no less than three Victoria Crosses were won in the expedition which he describes so vividly.

"On the completion of the road the large, ill-disciplined, ill-equipped garrison that was maintained at enormous expense by the Kashmir State, was supplanted by a small but extremely efficient force under British officers," he says and goes on, "Since then the tribesmen have been reduced to subjection, the Pax Britannica has been extended to the furtherest corners of the Gilgit Agency, and the influence of Britain far beyond."

It had culminated with the subjection of the Hunza-Nagars, tribes of raiders who had lived by pouncing on the caravans which passed from Kashgar and Yarkand, to be followed by a small expedition subduing the Chilas.

The country, like Ladakh and Baltistan, again covers about one hundred and fifty miles on each side of the great River Indus.

Even to this day, because of the heavy snowfalls and danger of avalanches, the road is closed to pack animals during the winter and spring months. Up to the Burzil or Kamri passes the country is well wooded and reasonably fertile with some glorious views from the tops of the passes, and on the way, especially at Gurais, some delightful camping grounds are to be found, among flowering meadows near firs and pines, with fishing and a fair chance of bagging a red bear. Until long after the British garrison was established there no European ladies were permitted to go beyond these two passes, not even when accompanied by their husbands. Over the 13,500 feet high Burzil pass and the road to Astor, the country is immediately arid and bare, with high, precipitous mountains, again a sportman's country with magnificent markhor and fine ibex. Most of the marches are now over rough rock wastes which, during the summer months, radiate the terrible heat of the sun; there is no wonderful scenery to relieve the landscape; you find yourself thinking back to stories of the "beggar" coolies who would have trodden this road with heads down,

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir AV1



each with its own ruler. The depths of the valleys are alive with ice-cold babbling brooks which run over smooth, brown sandstone rocks, although here and there in the passage of the waters, there appears a jagged white limestone piece which has withstood all attempts to smooth its surface. From among them all, often from a rock island, trees spread their branches over deep pools which are frequently the resting place for many fish, the most popular being the mahseer, before they brave the rapids to swim up stream.

Foot tracks lead up from the water to lone farmhouses; here and there is to be found a wider track which cattle have made or where the loaded mule is led, for there are few roads fit for wheeled carts. Flowers grow there in profusion during the spring; small fields of corn, green in springtime, yellow in autumn, are to be discovered at odd spots, these remaining where they have been for hundreds of years. There is none of the bleakness of Ladakh, Baltistan or Gilgit, although the same steep tracks over rocks, sharp ascents and descents are there, but they are fringed by bushes, trees shade them, and just when one is feeling the need of a cooling draught, a small clear spring bursts from a rocky grassy bank. Poonch reminds the man from Britain much more of his homeland than does the Valley. The Jhelum flows through the State, as does the Poonch river; a road follows this from Kotli to the city of Poonch. It seems that in so many places camping sites are to be found, small *margs* with close-cropped grass, a stream close by and a friendly if inquisitive people soon round the camp.

It is at first surprising to find the large percentage of the men among them who speak English, then as they proudly talk of their service in the Indian Army, of their father's service and their grandfathers', many of whom are still alive and draw pensions, one remembers that this little State claims to have provided a larger percentage of army volunteers than any other in India during the Great War of 1914-18. Thousands of them have always found service in the Indian Army, returning home on pension to take over the small-holding which their father has tended against that time, he then being able to retire to gossip, rejuvenated by the stories his son has told of his own

3: Imperial Gazetteer G-3 (1889-95) 1909 AV1 Kashmir AV1



Panjāl range, north of Rājaori; while Suchet Singh received Rāmnagar, west by north of Jammu.

Ranjīt Singh had found that the control of the Dogrā country was a difficult task, and his policy of enlisting the services of able Dogrās was at once obvious and prudent. The country was disturbed, each man plundered his neighbour, and Gulāb Singh's energies were taxed to the utmost in restoring order. He was a man of extraordinary power, and very quickly asserted his authority. His methods were often cruel and unscrupulous, but allowances must be made. He believed in object-lessons, and his penal system was at any rate successful in ridding the country of crime. He kept a sharp eye on his officials, and a close hand on his revenues. Rapidly absorbing the power and possessions of the feudal chiefs around him, after ten years of laborious and consistent effort, he and his two brothers became masters of nearly all the country between Kashmīr and the Punjab, save Rājaori. Bhadarwāh fell easily into the hands of Gulāb Singh after a slight resistance. In Kishtwār, the minister, Wazīr Lakhpat, quarrelled with the Rājā and sought the assistance of Gulāb Singh, who at once moved up with a force, and the Rājā surrendered his country without fighting.

Conquest of Ladākh.

His easy successes in Kishtwār, which commanded two of the roads into Ladākh, probably suggested the ambitious idea of the conquest of that unknown land. The difficulties of access offered by mountains and glaciers were enormous; but the brave Dogrās under Gulāb Singh's officer, Zorāwar Singh, never hesitated, and in two campaigns the whole of Ladākh passed into the hands of the Jammu State. It is interesting to notice that the Dogrās did not pillage the rich monastery of Himis, which saved itself by allowing the army in ignorance of its locality to pass the gorge leading to the Himis valley, and by then sending a deputation with an offer of free rations while in Ladākh territory. The agreement made was respected by both parties.

A few years later, in 1840, Zorāwar Singh invaded Baltistān, captured the Rājā of Skārdu, who had sided with the Ladākhis, and annexed his country. The following year (1841) Zorāwar Singh while invading Tibet was overtaken by winter, and being attacked when his troops were disabled by cold, perished with nearly all his army. Whether it was policy or whether it was accident, by 1840 Gulāb Singh had encircled Kashmīr.

Acquisition of Kashmīr.

In the winter of 1845 war broke out between the British and the Sikhs. Gulāb Singh contrived to hold himself aloof

till the battle of Sobraon (1846), when he appeared as a useful mediator and the trusted adviser of Sir Henry Lawrence. Two treaties were concluded. By the first the State of Lahore handed over to the British, as equivalent for one crore of indemnity, the hill countries between the rivers Beās and the Indus; by the second the British made over to Gulāb Singh for 75 lakhs all the hilly or mountainous country situated to the east of the Indus and west of the Rāvi. Kashmīr did not, however, come into the Mahārājā's hands without fighting. Imām-ud-dīn, the Sikh governor, aided by the restless Bambās from the Jhelum valley, routed Gulāb Singh's troops on the outskirts of Srīnagar, killing Wazīr Lakhpat. Owing, however, to the mediations of Sir Henry Lawrence, Imām-ud-dīn desisted from opposition and Kashmīr passed without further disturbances to the new ruler. At Astor and Gilgit the Dogrā troops relieved the Sikhs, Nathu Shāh, the Sikh commander, taking service under Gulāb Singh. Not long afterwards the Hunza Rājā attacked Gilgit territory. Nathu Shāh retorted by leading a force to attack the Hunza valley; he and his force were destroyed, and Gilgit fort fell into the hands of the Hunza Rājā, along with Punial, Yāsīn, and Darel. The Mahārājā sent two columns; one from Astor and one from Baltistān, and after some fighting Gilgit fort was recovered. In 1852, partly by strategy, partly by treachery, the Dogrā troops were annihilated by the bloodthirsty Gaur Rahmān of Yāsīn, and for eight years the Indus formed the boundary of the Mahārājā's territories.

Gulāb Singh died in 1857; and when his successor, Ranbīr Singh, had recovered from the strain caused by the Mutiny, in which he had loyally sided with the British, he determined to recover Gilgit, and to rehabilitate the reputation of the Dogrās on the frontier. In 1860 a force under Devi Singh crossed the Indus, and advanced on Gaur Rahmān's strong fort at Gilgit. Gaur Rahmān had died just before the arrival of the Dogrās. The fort was taken; and since then the Mahārājās of Jammu and Kashmīr have held it, to their heavy cost, and somewhat doubtful advantage.

Ranbīr Singh was a model Hindu: devoted to his religion and to Sanskrit learning, but tolerant to other creeds. He was in many ways an enlightened man, but he lacked his father's strong will and determination, and his control over the State officials was weak. The latter part of his life was darkened by the dreadful famine in Kashmīr, 1877–9; and in September, 1885, he was succeeded by his eldest son, the present Mahārājā

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The only railway at present is a short length of 16 miles, constructed at the cost of the State, which is included in a branch of the North-Western State Railway from Wazīrābād through Siālkot. It cost 9·6 lakhs, and has usually earned a net profit of 1 to 2½ per cent., in addition to the rebate allowed from traffic exchanged with the North-Western Railway. A line has been surveyed along the Jhelum valley route, and it is proposed to work this by electricity derived from the river.

205 648 Post Office.

The State is included for postal purposes in the circle administered by the Postmaster-General of the Punjab and North-West Frontier Province. Formerly Kashmīr had its own postal service and used its own postage stamps, but as far back as 1876 there were British post offices in Srīnagar and Leh. The State stamps were used only for local purposes, and letters and other postal articles passing between the State post offices and British India were charged with both Kashmīr and Indian postage. In 1894 the State posts were entirely amalgamated with the Indian postal system. The following statistics show the advance in postal business since 1880–1 :—

| | 1880–1. | 1890–1. | 1900–1. | 1904–5. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Number of post offices | 2 | 2 | 81 | 78 |
| Number of letter boxes | ... | ... | 199 | 207 |
| Number of miles of postal communication | ... | ... | 1,588 | 1,678 |
| Total number of postal articles delivered :— | | | | |
| Letters | 48,126 | 138,216 | 1,414,140 | 1,519,674 |
| Postcards | 3,406 | 26,858 | 1,209,182 | 1,639,430 |
| Packets | 832 | 16,146 | 96,356* | 166,400 |
| Newspapers | 42,978 | 70,226 | 193,414† | 246,974 |
| Parcels | 1,742 | 4,914 | 32,786 | 77,402 |
| Value of stamps sold to the public Rs. | ‡ | ‡ | 81,030 | 1,06,028 |
| Value of money orders issued Rs. | ‡ | ‡ | 3,10,591 | 16,37,787 |

* Including unregistered newspapers. † Registered as newspapers in the Post Office. ‡ The figures are included in those of the Punjab.

731 Famine.

The accounts of early famines are vague, but it is known that they occurred. While Sher Singh was governor (1831–3) severe distress was felt and many people fled, but the next governor, Mīān Singh, did much to restore prosperity by importing grain. It is said that the population was reduced to a quarter in that famine. In 1877–9 a worse disaster was experienced and the loss of life was enormous. Famines in Kashmīr are not caused by drought, as in India, because the

3: Imperial Gazetteer G-3 (1889-95) 1909 AV1 Kashmir AV1



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rice crop is generally protected by irrigation. The greatest distress is due to the fall of rain or snow while the rice and maize are ready for harvest. The famine of 1832 was caused by early snow, and was aggravated by the floods which followed. In 1877 rain fell almost continuously for three months, and the old system of collecting revenue in kind prevented cultivators from gathering their crops when opportunity served. Food-grain was not to be had; and when imports were made at the expense of the State, the corrupt officials were the chief persons to profit. It is improbable that such distress can be experienced again, owing to the construction of a cart-road, and the change in the method of collecting revenue.

Political relations.

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The State is in direct relationship with the Government of India, who is represented by an officer of the Political department, styled the Resident. His head-quarters are at Srīnagar. At Gilgit a Political Agent exercises some degree of supervision over the Wazīr Wazārat, and is directly responsible to the Government of India for the administration of the outlying petty States. A British officer is stationed at Leh to assist in the supervision of Central Asian trade.

Administration.

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On his accession to the *gaddi* in 1885, the present Mahārājā was entrusted with the administration of the State, aided by two ministers: but in 1887, at his own request, he was relieved from all part in the administration, which was then placed, subject to the control of the Resident, in the hands of a Council consisting of His Highness's brother and two selected officials from the British service. In 1891 the Mahārājā assumed the presidentship of the Council, while his brother, Rājā Sir Amar Singh, K.C.S.I., became vice-president. The Council was abolished in 1905, and its powers were conferred on the chief himself. Under the new arrangements the Mahārājā administers the State. There are three ministers, in charge of the revenue, judicial, and home departments; but business requiring the orders of the Mahārājā is laid before him by the chief minister, Rājā Sir Amar Singh. For some time past the departments of finance, revenue settlement, forests, and public works have been in charge of British officers, whose services have been temporarily placed at the disposal of the Darbār.

645

The four chief executive officers are: the governor or Hākim-i-Ala of Jammu, the governor of Kashmīr (each aided by a general assistant), the Wazīr Wazārat of Gilgit, and the Wazīr Wazārat of Ladākh.

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In Jammu there are five districts, each in charge of a Wazīr Wazārat, an official whose average salary is Rs. 250 a month.

the higher hill slopes up to 19,000 feet contain hares and marmots, and the beautiful snow leopard (Felis uncia) and the lynx (F. lynx). Knight, in Where Three Empires meet, remarks:-- 136

'Not only man, but also all creatures under his domination --horses, sheep, goats, fowls--are diminutive here, whereas the wild animals on the high mountains are of gigantic size.'

Drew counted as many as 300 kiang in a day's march. In outward appearance the kiang is like a mule, brown in colour with white under the belly, a dark stripe down the back, but no cross on the shoulder. One kiang shot by Drew was 54 inches in height. The flesh is rather like beef. They are common on the Changchenmo, and are met with in many parts of Ladakh, where their curiosity often disconcerts sportsmen by alarming game worth shooting. A curious fact in the fauna of Ladakh is the absence of birds in the higher parts of the country. An occasional raven is the only bird to be seen.

Climate. The climate is very dry and healthy. Rainfall is extremely slight, but fine dry flaked snow is frequent, and sometimes the fall is heavy. There is a remarkable absence of thunder and lightning. The air is invigorating, and all travellers notice the extraordinary extremes of cold and heat. In Rupshu the thermometer falls as low as 9° in September. The minimum temperature of the month is 23.5°, and the mean temperature 43°. As Knight remarks:-- 132

'So thin and devoid of moisture is the atmosphere that the variations of temperature are extreme, and rocks exposed to the sun's rays may be too hot to lay the hand upon, at the same time that it is freezing in the shade. To be suffering from heat on one side of one's body, while painfully cold on the other, is no uncommon sensation here.'

History. The history of Ladakh, until its conquest by Raja Gulab Singh in the first half of the nineteenth century, is intimately connected with Tibet, with which country it still holds commercial and religious relations. Stories are told of invasions in the seventeenth century by the neighbouring Baltis, sometimes successful, sometimes repulsed. About the end of the seventeenth century the Ladakhis called in the aid of the governor of Kashmir to repel the Sokpos, a Mughal tribe. Help was promptly given, and the Sokpos were driven out of Ladakh, after which it paid tribute to Kashmir. Prior to annexation by the Dogras, the government of the country was a mild form of monarchy. The ruler was called Gialpo or king, but the real power rested with the minister or Kahlon. The only

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4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir AV1



361 walls of masonry, in which can be traced the spoils of many a temple; ill-kept flights of stairs leading to filthy gullies, or here and there to broader roads; houses leaning at all angles, telling of the passing of the last earthquake; one wooden Mahomedan mosque, with a roof recalling Chinese architecture; the great mass of the Maharaja's palace, broken by the golden dome of the princely temple—all these combine to make a picture unique in the East. Passing under the last bridge your boat floats into a long reach, bordered on the left with stately planes and long lines of poplars, amongst which you land at the gate leading to the Residency, where lives the officer belonging to the Political Department of the Government of India, who holds the post of Resident in Kashmir. The house is a charming one, the most English house in India, but it is very badly situated, and lies below the bank of the river scarcely above the ordinary high-water level, and it has more than once been in imminent danger of being flooded out.

• 648 A few words as to the position of a Resident in a Native State may not be amiss. There are in India, surrounded by districts entirely under British rule, or lying, as in the case with Kashmir, on the borders of the Empire, some hundreds of Native States, great and small, having a total population of over eighty millions. These States, for want of a better word, may be described as feudatories of the Suzerain Power. Their relations with the latter pass through a thousand gradations, from *quasi*-independence to complete subservience. Hundreds of treaties, engagements, and grants ratified during the past hundred and fifty years, define their position and the

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir AV1



648 duties of the contracting powers. In no case has a Native State the power of waging war, and no external relations can be entered into. The powers of the ruling chiefs, the forms of internal administration, vary in innumerable ways; at one end of the scale you may find the constitutional government of a State like Mysore, with its elaborate systems of revenue and education, its assemblies and councils: at the other the rude patriarchal rule of a border chief; but in all cases in the background, ready to further schemes of improvement, or to step in should mismanagement lead to oppression and danger, stands the paramount power of the British Crown. The greater Native States have all a resident political agent living in the State, the smaller, as a rule, have a political officer in charge of a collection of three or four of them. The whole of the work in connection with Native States which needs to be referred to the Government of India passes up to the Secretary in the Foreign Department, under whose orders, with exceptions which do not affect the general question, are the officers employed in the most important of the Native States. The head of this great department works directly under the Viceroy.

The department is recruited at the bottom from the ranks of the Indian Civil Service, and from officers of the Indian Army. Promotion in the higher grades is not necessarily by seniority, Government reserving itself the right to bring in suitable officers from other departments whenever advisable. Many of the highest offices are often thus filled, distinguished officers of the civil or military service being brought in at the top of the tree.

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir AV1
Dard AV3



D 643 576 frontier. It was a motley crowd and picturesque, but I was glad when, after passing the fort, we were conducted to the house built in Major Biddulph's day, and left there in peace.

D 643 K 704 The next few days were spent in making acquaintance with the Governor and the members of the Committee, which consisted of the General commanding at Gilgit, the General commanding the regular reinforcements, the Sunadés or officer commanding the irregular troops, and of a couple of high civil officials, the most important of all being Mehta Sher Singh, an old gentleman of high family and position in Kashmir. The ablest among these gentlemen was, perhaps, the Governor, who had held his post for eight years, was heartily sick of it, and was most anxious to settle matters with Hunza and Nagar somehow, and to be permitted to return to Kashmir. He was an adept at intrigue, the threads of all the frontier affairs were in his hand, and the puppets on both sides of the border generally danced at his bidding.

K 648 My position was difficult; I had distinct orders not to give advice, but I could see very well that, if the negotiations going on failed, the Committee would come to me for it, and that whatever decision they came to, the onus would be thrown on me. Every endeavour was of course made to throw dust in my eyes, and to prevent my getting information as to what had really happened, why the tribes had broken out, what was going on at the moment. and as to the condition of the troops. I was told, however, and I knew the information was true, that between Astor and Nomal, the fort eighteen miles

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4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir AV I



denied. I studied the maps very carefully, and tried to get information which would settle the point one way or the other, but the phantom always eluded me, and the will-o'-the-wisp led me on: my judgment, backed by the experience of Ney Elia, was against the possibility of the existence of such a pass; still there might be one. Some of the shrewdest Kashmir officials believed in it, and they were most anxious to probe the mystery, for, in case of any further trouble with Hunza, a turning road might be invaluable. Their view was that the road existed, but that the friendship between the Hunza Chief and the local Rajas of Baltistan, who were closely connected, prevented the secret being divulged. It was essential to discover the truth and to set the matter at rest.

The Commander-in-Chief in India, Sir Frederick Roberts, come in to Kashmir during my stay there, and the condition of the Kashmir army, and the best steps to make it efficient, were naturally discussed. It was ascertained that the nominal expenditure on the army the previous year had amounted to twenty-three lakhs, the real expenditure to about twenty-nine, which represented half the revenue of the State, and that the army numbered over seventeen thousand men, with sixty-six guns. The condition of the military machine has been described before. The first thing to be done was to reduce the army, and to organise the portion it was decided to keep up. This, however, did not come within my province; all that concerned me was the number and the condition of the troops which Kashmir was to keep on the frontier.

By the middle of June 1889 my preparations were virtually complete, and the passes were open. I had

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir AV1
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being so long waited for, it brought none of the elation which would have accompanied it months before. The expatriation and isolation did not look so rosy, and I did not like the Hunza business much; a foreboding warned me there would be difficulty.

But next morning things had taken their proper place, and with the coveted appointment in my hand, and my own selected friends going with me — I did not know then one would so soon leave me—everything was bright, and the interest increased every moment. Hard work was before me, many bricks to make and but little straw at hand. Satisfactory political relations had to be established with neighbouring States, there were roads to be made, the whole of my kingdom to be explored, barracks for troops to be built, telegraph lines to be opened, dispensaries to be established, troops to be trained, cultivation to be increased, and irrigation works to be undertaken. Last, but not least, there was a *modus vivendi* to be established with the Kashmir civil and military authorities at Gilgit, by which I could get what I wanted without reducing them to the position of ciphers. The longer I looked at the prospect, the pleasanter it seemed; if you are to be exiled, the more work the better.

Leaving all the heavy camp to go by single marches to Astor, we pushed on to the foot of the Burzil pass, from which the road to Skardu branches off over the Deosai plains. We had a disastrous start from the Burzil. First it poured with rain all night, so that we had to wait till

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir AV1



701 condition, mostly composed of worn-out old men or of boys, and half the force existed only on paper. I calculated that of all the troops fully seventy-five per cent. were unfit to serve.

705 A couple of days gave me time to consider what steps were most urgently required to put the fort in a proper state for defence, and to go into the most pressing question regarding the increase in the water-supply. On increased water-supply depended increased cultivation, and on this hinged the question of feeding the troops. An inspection of the available positions for a new and safer ferry over the Indus followed, and an afternoon's fishing at the mouth of a stream running into the Indus, where we got fairly good sport. The Indus itself was in high flood, and full of snow water, so we failed to move any big fish, but later in the year it would repay fishing.

A few more days saw us in Gilgit, where I spent a fortnight waiting for my stores and baggage, getting in to touch with the local authorities, and
701 in preparing for my visit to Hunza and Nagar. I
661 had received a letter while on the road from the Resident, asking me, in the name of the Kashmir Council, to receive a large sum of money which was being sent up, and to see myself personally to the payment of the troops. This was a fairly strong reflection on the honesty of the Kashmir official to come from the Durbar itself, and irksome though the
648 work was, I welcomed the opportunity offered. For me there were several advantages. The people of the country and the troops would see that money and power were on our side; that the Kashmir Government trusted us; that we were not above seeing to

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir AV1



things ourselves; and, finally, that when it came to paying out money, none of it would stick in our hands.

The local authorities were, of course, furious at being deprived of the grand opportunity for plunder, which the passage of twenty-five thousand pounds through their fingers would have given, and opposition to the Agency, and to the orders and interests of their own Government, began at once. The treacherous official, who had betrayed the Kashmir troops into the hands of the enemy the year before, was still occupying a very strong position at Gilgit, and intrigued against me at every turn. I found that under his auspices endless lies were being disseminated about me, and every difficulty put in the way of my work; the neighbouring chiefs were warned against having any dealings with me; told that the Agency was not to be re-established, and threatened with the vengeance of this scoundrel and his confederates the moment we left. Cringing in my presence, he was a little too incautious behind my back, insolent to my men, and abusive about his masters in Kashmir. Finally my chance came, and I sent him off to Astor to see to some work there. Confident in his own power, he went straight through to Kashmir, where, to his surprise and disgust, he met with a very bad reception, and found himself banished to an outlying district. I found strong evidence both in Hunza and Nagar that this scoundrel, besides being a traitor, had been largely interested in the slave trade, and instrumental in handing over Sepoys and Balti coolies to the Hunza people to sell across the border.

Besides being engaged in a duel with the very

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir AV1
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Besides being engaged in a duel with the very people who ought to have been helping me, I had plenty of work. The fort,[1] the strongest in the Hindu-Kush in some ways, had to be thoroughly overhauled, and a scheme worked out for hutting the troops, who were huddled together in pitch dark hovels in which it was impossible to stand upright, and in which the stench could be cut with a knife. The drainage and water-supply of the fort had to be gone into, the head-waters of the canal which irrigated the Gilgit oasis visited, and some plan for its improvement devised; a good house for a hospital had to be found, and the drugs and paraphernalia stored, to be useless, alas! for a whole year, and lastly, my own house had to be put in order. The envoys from Hunza and Nagar had to be interviewed, and the details of my visit to these States arranged. I entirely declined to ask for hostages, as had formerly been the custom, and dismissed the hostages sent by Hunza, with handsome presents. Nagar, I felt, would give no trouble. Hunza was different, and was none too safe, but I did not believe that the presence of a relation of the chief's in Gilgit would prevent our throats being cut; and it seemed to me more dignified not to bargain for our safety, but to trust to straightforward dealing on the spot, and to dry powder. The Governor of Gilgit was horrified at my manner of doing business, and took, I heard, a most gloomy view of the situation; it was in so many people's interest apparently to incite an attack upon us, and an attack on a small party like ours, in a country with the natural difficulties offered by Hunza, could have but one result—we should have been wiped out to a man.

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1 [At Gilgit -- Analyst]

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AVI Kashmir AVI
Dard AVI
Chitral



accompany him, go to England, get instruction in the use of instruments, collect all he wanted for his longer exploration, come up to Gilgit the following year, and again enter Kafiristan. The flying visit would give him a good idea of the difficulties he would be likely to encounter, and of the outfit which would be most suitable. A proposal on these lines was drawn up and sent off at once to India, and was eventually sanctioned by Government. The scheme was successfully carried out, as readers of Robertson's book on Kafiristan know.

On arrival at Gakuch I found letters from the Mehtar warning me that Raja Akbar Khan of Punyal, in league with the people of Darel and Tangir, in the Indus Valley, had arranged to attack my camp a day's march from Gakuch. The Mehtar solemnly warned me against coming by the direct road over the Shandur to Chitral, and begged me to wait till Nizam-ul-Mulk came to escort me with a suitable force. I was then to march by the Yasin Valley, cross the Darkot Pass, and reach Chitral by the upper road. The whole thing was a plot got up to embroil me if possible with Akbar Khan, whom the Mehtar hated, and to show the necessity for his being supplied by Government with arms in order to be able to repel attacks from Yaghistan, as the independent territory in the Indus Valley is called. The Mehtar had over-reached himself for once, for I had sent trustworthy men into both Darel and Tangir some time before, and they had just returned reporting everything quiet. Further, he had mentioned as Akbar Khan's accomplice in the plot the man whom I knew to be the latter's bitterest enemy. I wrote

4c Durand G-3 (1883-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir AV1
Dard AV3
Chitral



at once to the Mehtar saying that I should come by the Shandur or not at all, and that I expected him to make the necessary arrangements for the safety of our party. At the same time I wrote to our native Agent who would, I knew, pass on the gist of my letter to the Mehtar, that the latter's story was untrue. I told him that if my camp was attacked it would be at the Mehtar's instigation, and that if he could not guarantee the safety of a small party of British officers marching through his country the Government of India would attach very little importance to his friendship, and that there would certainly be no question of receiving any proof of its good will.

I then sat down at Gakuch for a week to give my letters time to arrive, knowing my hint would be sufficient, and that I should hear no more of impending attacks. It would have been stupid to go on at once, for had an attack come off I should have been naturally blamed by Government for disregarding the Mehtar's warning, and I should have played into my old friend's hands. I knew he was quite capable of arranging a small fight, so that he might reap the reward of having come to my assistance. There was plenty to do at Gakuch. We selected the site for a hut which was to be my headquarters when I visited Punyal, had beats for brown bear, shot chicker, went into the question of establishing a dispensary, and inspected various water-courses which wanted the assistance of skilled labour to improve them, and to bring much land now lying waste under cultivation. There were also interminable but interesting interviews with our friends the Punyal Chiefs.

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir AV/

## CHAPTER IX

### ADMINISTRATION AND WAR

648 701 643 Our first years in Gilgit passed in peace and hard work, tempered by "excursions and alarms," born of the wild and ever-varying plots and intrigues indulged in by my native friends on all sides.

My position presented some of the curious anomalies to which the Indian Administrator on the frontier is accustomed. I was the representative of the British Government on the frontier, and the external relations with the neighbouring States were under my control. But the rule within the Gilgit border was in the hands of the Kashmir Governor, while the command of the forces rested with the Kashmiri General, with the proviso that no important move of troops should be undertaken without my sanction. It was a difficult position, for every one recognised that, in addition to my own responsibilities, I was really answerable for the proper government and progress of the Gilgit district, and for the discipline and control of the troops.

647 The difficulty was solved by the formation of an unrecognised Committee of Public Safety composed of the Governor, the General, and myself. We met two

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or three times a week at my house and discussed our various schemes, the necessary steps for which were invariably carried out in the name of the Kashmir Durbar and by order of its own officers. Even so the task set one was no easy one—a reformer's rarely is, but patience and courtesy go a long way in the east. Personally my Kashmiri colleagues and I were very good friends, and in the end what was required was generally carried through. For the first few months we turned our attention mainly to the re-modelling of the Forts occupied by the troops, with the object of replacing the foul huts in them by proper barracks, and of building suitable granaries and stores. Much time and labour were also spent in improving the irrigation channels in the Gilgit district, on which the food supply of the inhabitants and the troops depended. The whole subject of the grain and other revenue was also gone into, and the question of the improvement of the local communications exhaustively examined.

Christmas, 1889, saw the beginning of a series of gatherings of the neighbouring native chiefs, and of their leading men, at Gilgit. I held a formal Durbar, and had as much trouble over the precedence of the different chiefs as might have been expected in India had all the nobles of Hyderabad, Central India, and Rajputana met at once. I took advantage of the opportunity to make a speech, informing all of the intention of Government that the British Agency should be permanent. The doubts on this point, carefully kept alive by interested people, whose power was slipping from their hands, were the main cause of all my initial difficulties. After the Durbar we had a week of sports of all kinds, during which, to our satisfac-

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had come up the autumn before made up into regiments it is true, but they had received no instruction in the use of their arms, and were useless from the military point of view when they arrived. Willing as they were, they had to be licked into shape, and taught everything from the beginning. It was out of the question to use them for road-making. I had therefore nothing but my company of sappers, and for ten months they worked on the roads practically every day, except on Sundays. It was hard on the men, for road work is very severe, but it was absolutely necessary, and I did my best by giving them extra food and pay to make it easy for them. The result was excellent; before the passes opened we had made the road to Nomal, opened a mule road between Gilgit and Bunji, a distance of thirty miles, and run a track practicable for laden animals up most of the six thousand feet of the dreadful Hattu Pir Mountain, besides improving some bridges on the road to Astor. Luckily much of the thirty miles between Gilgit and Bunji was open ground, but there were many miles of bad going, and to open a mule track through this was a triumph for my men, vile as I must admit the road was to the uninitiated. All this work kept me pretty busy, and I was in the saddle almost every day, riding backwards and forwards to inspect the work.

With the spring of 1891 from all directions came renewed rumours of trouble. The Indus valley tribes, and indeed most of my neighbours, habitually spent the winter, when there was no agricultural work to do, in discussing the advantages and disadvantages of resuming their raids on Kashmir

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territory, or of attacking each other, and in weaving plots. Embassies passed from republic to republic, and from ruler to ruler, suggesting combinations and general risings. It was the custom of the country, and as a rule it meant but little, but this year, as the scraps of information from all sides reached me, and were collated and pondered over, it seemed to me that all tended to show that real mischief was brewing. The threads I held in my hands persistently wove themselves into one pattern, and that pattern meant war.

However, it was no business of mine to meet my troubles half way, and we went about our work as usual. Thinking it would do the troops good, I moved in April with a couple of guns and some infantry to Gakuch in Punyal, forty miles from Gilgit. The road I have described before; it was an education to the officers and men of the mule battery, and also taught the infantry much that was useful. The marches, short as they were, were very severe. The Governor of Gilgit and the Kashmiri General accompanied the party, of which I was very glad. We, of course, never left the troops, and saw them over the difficult pieces. I gave the men meat rations occasionally, and we saw to their comfort ourselves. This may seem not worth mentioning, but it was a revelation to the Kashmiri officers. Most of the regimental officers and the men were already with us, grateful for the increased comfort of their quarters, for the punctual issue of pay, and for the good quality of their rations, but one and all were unaccustomed to being cared for on the march by their superiors, and appreciated

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B 661 time that Uzr Khan was desperately jealous of the boy, who was his father's favourite, and very popular with the people, that he hated his brother with added bitterness for his popularity with us, and that in his ignorant and suspicious mind lurked the fear that on the old chief's death we should support his young brother, should he attempt to gain possession of the little kingdom. Yet I had been obliged to advise the boy to act as his father wished, and this was the result.

K 712 The murder did not affect the position on the frontier, but the news which came at the same time that I heard of it did so very seriously. Twelve miles beyond Nomal lay Chalt, a small fort held by Kashmir troops under an agreement with the Nagar Chief. Close to it lay Chaprot, in which also there was a detachment of Kashmir troops.

B 662 721 Uzr Khan was now collecting his forces, and preparing to attack both Chalt and Chaprot. He would have moved the moment the murder was committed, but that he was not quite sure of what his father would do, and that he was in correspondence with the Hunza Chief and not in complete accord with him. Two young nephews of his were in Hunza, and he had sent to the Thum and asked that they might also be killed. The Hunza Chief had declined; he was apparently of opinion that they might be useful later in case of trouble with Nagar, being nearer in succession than Uzr Khan, and, moreover, they were his sister's boys. So he declined with indignation, and relations for a few days were strained between the two scoundrels.

K 678 721 There was not much time to think; moreover, I naturally had in mental pigeon-holes plans to

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meet emergencies, and I decided at once to make a dash for Chalt. I thanked my stars for Major Gokul and his sappers, and for our new road to Nomal. I gave the order at three in the afternoon, and by dusk two hundred men of the Kashmir Body Guard regiment, little Gurkhas and Dogras, were over the rope bridge and on their way, with their full complement of ammunition and rations. It could not be done quicker, for not more than half a dozen men at most could be on the bridge at one time.

To cross the guns was a more difficult matter. The Gilgit river was in full flood, a hundred and fifty yards wide, and running like a mill race. The mules we swam over, their kit and ammunition crossed by the rope-bridge, but we had to make a raft and cross the guns on that. It was ticklish work, but by two in the morning the detachment of two guns was safely over.

There were other things to think of, and selecting a couple of men I could trust I started them off as hard as they could go to Chalt, with orders to cut the rope bridges over the Hunza river and over a stream which ran into it just above Chalt from the Hunza side. If they succeeded in doing this before Uzr Khan moved I knew that I should forestall him, for I calculated that he would not dare to cross on rafts even if he could, and that it would take several days to repair the bridges. At the same time I sent an express to Raja Akbar Khan of Punyal, calling on him to turn out his merry men, and to move across the hills and join me at Nomal. We had organised a couple of hundred Punyali levies, who on this and subsequent occasions did

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yeoman's service. The moment I decided to move I also sent off a handful of local levies to seize the Chaichar Parri, a terrible cliff position on the Gilgit side of Chalt, the possession of which was rightly held by the Hunza-Nagar people, and by the inhabitants of the neighbouring states, to be of the utmost value. Once this was in our hands our march to Chalt could not be disputed, though a column might be harassed by fire from the left bank of the Hunza river. Knowing the nature of the road between Nomal and Chalt I sent an urgent order to Major Gokul to leave all standing on the Hattu Pir, on which he was at work, and to bring his sappers up by forced marches. Finally, having set everything going, I reported by letter my proceedings to the Resident in Kashmir, and started after the troops.

This was one of the numerous occasions on which the absence of a telegraph line was a godsend. A man must be able to take responsibility on the frontier, and so long as he honestly sticks to the spirit of his general instructions, it is much better that he should have a fairly free hand.

A couple of hours' canter in the early morning carried me to Nomal, where I found my little army in high feather, and full of fight. I had left the Governor of Gilgit wringing his hands and prophesying disasters, but the General girded on his sword and came cheerfully along, confident in my star. At Nomal I heard that the Chaichar Parri was in my hands, and in the afternoon we pushed on another six miles before halting for the night. The last part of the road had been so bad that I could not

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bring on the guns, but I turned out every available man of the Nomal garrison and set them to work to improve it, and arranged for the guns to be brought on later. Early next morning we pushed on, being caught up half-way by Raja Akbar Khan and the Punyali levies under their chiefs, mostly the Raja's cousins and brothers, and after a severe march reached Chalt in the afternoon. I found that my men had cut the bridge, and that my arrival was totally unexpected. I made the best dispositions feasible for my little force, and sat down to wait events. An attack was threatened the first and second nights, but it did not come off. I heard afterwards that my move had come as a complete surprise on Uzr Khan, who was collecting his forces at Nilt, eight miles off.

The next few days were a little anxious, but each day that passed without my being attacked made for peace. Uzr Khan wanted war, but feared to make it, and his old father and the more sensible men of the country were against fighting. Every hour's delay saw us strengthened, and the chances of an attack on Chalt by the Nagar forces being crowned with success rapidly diminished. The guns got through on the third day after my arrival, though getting over the Chaichar Parri was difficult work. The mules had to be swum across the river below the great cliff, and recrossed again above it, a reach of fairly smooth water making this possible. It was dangerous work at the best, and some of the men had narrow escapes of being carried down the river and drowned. The arrival of the guns strengthened my position very much, and I awaited events with equanimity,

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Burush. AV7



K 648 721

utilising every moment to improve the road behind me. When we marched up there were eight places where mules had to be unladen in as many miles, on our return, three weeks later, there was a practicable mule road open right through from Chalt to Gilgit, a distance of thirty miles.

K 648 B 721

After ten days or so of *pourparlers* the Hunza-Nagar envoys came to my camp in a suitable frame of mind, and we discussed the situation. Both states were for the moment honestly anxious to avoid war. Uzr Khan's contemplated coup had completely failed, and the boot was on the other leg very completely. The fort of Chalt, though contemptible from the military point of view, was now three times as strong as we had found it; it was garrisoned by picked Kashmir troops amply provisioned, and last, but not least, we had driven a road through the Chaichar Parri. I had been told that any attempt to make a road, or to strengthen the fort, would inevitably lead to war, that the tribes looked on Chalt "as on the strings of their wives' paijamas," and by a timely move I had prevented war, strengthened the hold of Kashmir on its frontier posts, and made it easy to reach them. The first and most important step towards curbing the tribesmen and barring the road to their raids had been taken, and without firing a shot.

Having come to an understanding with the envoys, and given them some advice which I much doubted their taking, and a plain warning that any attempt to occupy the Kashmir frontier posts, or to hold the road between them and Nomal, would be taken as an "unfriendly act,"

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and treated accordingly, I marched back to Gilgit. The storm was for the moment averted, but I had no hope that the settlement was permanent, for I knew Uzr Khan's ambition to make himself master of Chalt, and the Hunza Chief was busy breaking every one of the terms of his agreement with us. He was still raiding across the northern passes; a band of his ruffians had had the insolence to kidnap a Kashmiri subject at Nomal, and to sell him into slavery on the Pamirs, and we had further serious causes of complaint. In other ways than those mentioned above my move had been a success. The Punyali levies were radiant at our having forestalled Uzr Khan, and occupied the Chaichar Parri without striking a blow. The news spread through the country-side like wild-fire, the prestige of the Kashmir troops and their own which was connected with it rose with a bound, and they felt confidence in our leadership and fortune.

For the next few months nothing of importance occurred, until early in August Raja Ram Singh, the Maharaja's brother, and the Commander-in-Chief of the Kashmir army, came up to inspect Gilgit. I was delighted at his coming, for it gave me an opportunity to show him what we were doing to increase the comfort and efficiency of his troops, and to consolidate the power of the Kashmir Government on the frontier. Various little traps were set with the object of embroiling me with him, but my Intelligence Department was fairly well organised, and I was able to avoid them. It afforded me much interest to explain them to him, and they gave us both a good deal of innocent amusement. The meanest was got up by one of the

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to get up a better case if he wished to make mischief between his Commander-in-Chief and myself. 000

In consequence of my reports as to the condition of the frontier, and of the difficulties likely to arise with Hunza and Nagar, war with which had only been averted by my dash to Chalt, I had been summoned to Simla. Taking leave therefore of Raja Ram Singh, who extended his tour to Nomal, I started for India. During my absence the frontier was much excited by the military promenade of the Russians on the Pamirs, portions of which they annexed, and by their arresting Captain Younghusband on them, and marching him back to the limits of their newly acquired territory. On my arrival in Simla the whole question of the Gilgit frontier was exhaustively examined, and the Government of India decided to reinforce the Kashmir troops in the Gilgit Agency by a detachment of two hundred men belonging to the 5th Gurkha regiment, and by two guns of one of our native mountain batteries.* 701

Further, in consideration of the fact that the Hunza ruler had broken all his engagements with us, that an attack on the Kashmir garrison of Chalt had only just been prevented, and that it was more than likely that a further attempt would be made in the autumn by the tribesmen, the Government of India decided to order me to move troops to Chalt in October, to built a small fort there, and to improve the road between that place and Gilgit. I was instructed, when I moved the troops to Chalt, 648 ●

* Blue Book. Correspondence relating to the operations in Hunza-Nagar, 1892.

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to write to the Chiefs of Hunza and Nagar, saying nothing about their misconduct, but informing them that it was necessary for their safety, and for that of Kashmir, that we should have free access to their territory, in order to make all requisite arrangements for holding the line of the frontier. They were to be told that we had no intention of interfering in their form of Government, but that our arrangements would include the making of military roads, and that, as they owed allegiance to the British Government, they would be expected to give any aid in their power. If the Chiefs refused their consent to the road-making they were to be told that the roads must be made, and that unless they complied with our demands, troops would enter their country, and make the roads in spite of them. In this case, or in that of the Chiefs assembling their forces to prevent the building of the Chalt fort, I had orders to move across the frontier.

In order further to strengthen my hands, the want of British officers having been much felt by me in the previous May when I had moved to Chalt, I was given a picked lot of fifteen young officers. Orders were also sent to Gilgit to occupy at once the Chaichar Parri. It took some time to settle all this, and it was October before I left Simla. From there I went to Srinagar to see the Resident in Kashmir, and to make various final arrangements for the move through Kashmir and up to Gilgit of my reinforcements. I found the Durbar fully occupied in making arrangements in connection with Lord Lansdowne's coming visit to Kashmir, and from what I heard of the transport arrangements I feared

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place, and scattered others along the road to act as transport officers. All responded well to the calls I made on them, and in little over a month I had a sufficiency of grain and stores landed at Gilgit, at the expense of tremendous exertions on the part of officers and men, and of considerable suffering to coolies and transport animals. For the third year in succession I cursed the ignorance and mismanagement of the authorities in Kashmir.

Before leaving Astor I received bad news. The detachment of Gurkhas, crossing the Burzil in cloudy weather, had been caught in fresh snowstorms, and eighty men and coolies were seriously frost-bitten. Among the sufferers was their Commanding Officer, Captain Barrett. Many of the unfortunate men died, and many more were maimed for life. Having made the best arrangements possible for the relief of the sufferers, I pushed on rapidly to Gilgit, and was not altogether pleased with the news which awaited me there. There were fresh persistent rumours of an intended attack on Chalt, and the garrison of that post had been allowed to fall short of food supplies. Foreseeing the necessity which might arise for rapidly preparing flour for the troops, I had given orders for a number of water-mills to be constructed; not one had been built. However, if there were shortcomings on the one hand, on the other there was cause for satisfaction. The two best Kashmir regiments, under the careful instruction of my staff officer, Captain Twigg, and of Captain Townshend, now Lieutenant-Colonel Townshend, C.B., D.S.O., of Chitral fame, had made rapid strides, and were in fairly efficient condition.

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in the strength of their defiles, and of their power to seize Chalt, and to defeat Kashmir troops as of yore, they meditated seizing the Chaichar Parri, and possibly besieging Nomal. A spy of theirs had been captured near Nomal, and gave valuable information as to the intended move. The tribesmen were collecting for a dash, and the time was come to advance. The detachment of the 5th Gurkhas, reduced by losses from frost bite to a little over a hundred and eighty men, and the two guns of the Hazara mountain battery were accordingly moved to Chalt, and the improvement of the road behind them was undertaken. Mr Spedding, the head of the firm of contractors which was making the road from Gilgit to Kashmir, had placed his European staff and a body of picked Pathan labourers at my disposal, and they did splendid work on the road, and subsequently advanced with the force as far as Nilt.

A few days before I started the remainder of my force to the front George Robertson rejoined me from Kafiristan. We had much to talk over. Having a presentiment that I should not see the little campaign through, and feeling that the next senior officer, from his ignorance of the people and country, would not be in a position to deal with the chiefs when opposition was over, I wrote an order appointing Robertson chief political officer to the force, in the event of the command passing out of my hands. I had reason later to congratulate myself on having done so.

By the end of November my troops were concentrated at Chalt, and I moved there myself. I had for some time been in constant

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communication with the chiefs, and had exhausted every means of persuasion by letter, and by the mouth of trusted envoys, in the hopes of arriving at a peaceful solution, but in vain. Finally, on the 29th of November, I sent in my ultimatum to the chiefs who were with their forces, Safdar Ali Khan of Hunza at Mayun, and Uzr Khan at Nilt, about eight miles from my camp. I gave them three days to think it over, but on the second my envoy returned on foot, having been robbed of his horse, insulted, and threatened with murder, and informed me that the chiefs had decided to fight. The Nagar Chief wished for peace, but Uzr Khan and the war party were too strong for him to resist. The Hunza Wazir had drawn his sword during the deliberations, and sworn to kill the first man who spoke of agreeing to our demands. The answer from Nagar was firm and dignified, that of the Hunza Chief was couched in the most insulting terms. There was nothing more to be done, and on the afternoon of the 1st December 1891 we crossed the Hunza river above Chalt by a temporary bridge thrown by Aylmer, and bivouacked on what was now the enemy's ground. I had done my best to preserve peace, and I had failed. But as I lay under the stars, listening to the talk and laughter of the bivouac, and went over again and again in my mind the events of the last few months, I knew that I had left no stone unturned to avoid war. The tribesmen had rushed on their fate, the die was cast, and all that remained was to strike quick and to strike hard.

There is a certain school which is never tired of accusing soldiers and political officers on the frontier

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The changes five years had wrought were great; the Kashmir troops on the frontier, instead of an ill-paid, undisciplined and ill-armed rabble, were an efficient body of troops regularly paid and well fed, who had given their proofs in severe fighting; good roads existed in the place of tracks torturing alike to baggage animals and laden men using them, and the rivers were bridged; extensive irrigation schemes, which were to prove of inestimable value to the people, were in hand; the authority of the Kashmir Government was firmly established on its frontier, and the influence of the British Government was paramount in the tract of country immediately south of the Hindu Kush.

I do not mean for a moment to infer that the work was complete, that perfection was attained, or that what credit there may have been was due to us on the frontier alone. The Kashmir troops, for instance, were but part of the great force of Imperial Service troops put at the disposal of the British Government in India by the Native Chiefs, but under us they had received their baptism of fire. It had been a great source of pride to me, who had followed the novel experiment with such cordial interest, to command Imperial Service troops at Nilt on the first occasion they had been in action, and to see them later in Chilas and elsewhere side by side with our own troops earning the admiration of all, and justifying their existence and the wisdom of the policy which had called them into being.

But some success we had achieved, and the object of the Government of India in establishing the

175 to forgo all duty on the trade between Central Asia and
439 British India, in return for the same concession made by the Indian Government for goods imported into the State through British India.

175 Maharaja Ranbir Singh was a great patron of letters and art. He encouraged research and gathered a good library of Sanskrit and Persian manuscripts.

In 1872, there occurred a fierce clash between the Shia and Sunni Muslims in Kashmir. The disturbances were put down and the Maharaja gave Rs. 3 lakhs to the Shias for relief. The great famine of 1877 followed, when owing to excessive rains, much of the harvest was washed away. The misery of the people became unbearable: whole villages were in ruins, fields were deserted and trade became extinct. The calamity marked the end of the old system. During the last five years of Maharaja Ranbir Singh's reign, the assessment of revenue was revised, and the cart road connecting Rawalpindi with Srinagar was commenced.

[692] In 1872, a mixed court of British and State officials
● 648 was set up for the decision of civil suits between European
175 British subjects and their servants on the one hand and the subjects of His Highness the Maharaja on the other. Political relations between the State and British India were conducted through the Punjab Government up to 1877, when the Officer on Special Duty was placed directly under the Government of India. In the Afghan War of 1878-80, the Maharaja sent a contingent of troops and artillery to assist the British Government.

175 **Maharaja Pratap Singh (1885-1925).**—Maharaja
648 Ranbir Singhji died in 1885 and was succeeded by his
643 eldest son, Maharaja Pratap Singhji. After the new Maharaja's accession, a British Resident was appointed in place of the Officer on Special Duty. The mixed court appointed in 1872 was abolished, and the Resident and his assistants were invested with powers to dispose of civil suits in which both parties were British subjects, or the defendant was a British subject or an Indian subject of His Majesty. A Council was constituted for the administration of the State with Raja Sir Amar Singh, the Maharaja's younger brother, and two selected officers from the Government of India as members. Raja Sir Amar Singh played a very large part in the administration till his death in 1907. He was keenly interested in the development of

the country's resources and in the expansion of trade. Another brother of the Maharaja, Raja Ram Singh was for several years the Commander-in-Chief of the State forces.

In 1877, a British Officer had been stationed as Political Agent at Gilgit. He had been withdrawn in 1881, but in 1889 the Agency was re-established. The Agency comprised the chiefships of Hunza and Nagar and the governorships of Punial, Yasin, Kuh-Ghizr and Ishkoman. Hunza and Nagar, separated from each other by a river, are in the extreme north of the territory. The inhabitants of the former are mostly Maulais and of the latter Shias. In 1885, the Kashmir garrisons at Chaprot and Chalt were attacked. When the British Political Agent, Colonel Durand, visited Hunza and Nagar in 1889, the chiefs made an apparent submission, but they failed to keep the conditions agreed upon. Hostilities broke out, and after some fighting, Hunza and Nagar were occupied by a combined force of the British India and the State troops in 1891. The Chief of Nagar was reinstated by His Highness' Government. But the Chief of Hunza fled to Chinese Turkistan, and his half brother, Safdar Khan was installed in his place.

The Sialkot-Jammu Railway was opened to traffic in 1890. The Jhelum Valley Cart Road, 132 miles long, which had been commenced in the time of Maharaja Ranbir Singh, was completed in the early nineties. The part of it between Kohala and Baramulla (98 miles) had been opened in 1889. The road connects Srinagar with Kohala. A bridge at Kohala joins His Highness' territory with British India, and from the bridge runs a 64 miles road through Murree to Rawalpindi. The construction of the Banihal Cart Road is another achievement of the late Maharaja's reign. Its importance lies in the fact that it connects Srinagar, the summer capital of the State with Jammu, the winter capital, which is also a railway station, without passing through British Indian territory. The two routes together with their branch roads form one of the finest systems of mountain roads in the world.

A few words about the old routes to Kashmir appear to be necessary here. The Murree route from Deval to Baramulla consisted of eleven marches. Deval could be reached by cart from Rawalpindi. It was usual to take a boat at Baramulla for Srinagar. But even this short journey took more than 24 hours. Then there was the

487 Pir Panjal route. In the reign of Maharaja Ranbir Singh, visitors generally used this way. It had been the favourite route of the Mughal emperors and nobles, and the remnants of the Mughal *sarais* are still to be met with almost at every halting place. The nearest railway station for this route is Gujrat. The distance from Gujrat to Bhimber, which was about thirty miles, could be covered by cart. From Bhimber, Srinagar could be reached in 12 marches of 10 to 15 miles each. The high Pir Panjal range had to be crossed on this route. Thana Mandi lay at a distance of 70 miles from Bhimber. A traveller could take the Poonch route from Thana Mandi and complete the journey in 8 marches by way of Uri. This was, however, difficult and not much favoured.

491 It will thus be seen that the construction of the two roads connecting the Punjab with Srinagar was no mean achievement. Lakhs of rupees were spent on the *pucca* bridle road to Gilgit. Another bridle road connected Srinagar with Leh in Ladakh. Considerable expenditure was incurred on the maintenance and repairs of these roads, all of which passed through difficult mountainous countries. In 1894, the postal service of the State was amalgamated with the imperial service, and in 1897, His Highness' Government entered into an agreement for exchange of services between the State and the Imperial telegraph systems.

205 648

651 In 1887, His late Highness requisitioned the services of a British Officer from the Government of India for the purpose of land settlement. But the real credit for the settlement must go to Mr. (afterwards Sir) Walter Lawrence, who was appointed Settlement Commissioner in 1889, and who brought great sympathy and understanding to bear on his task. The first settlements in Jammu and Kashmir were completed in seven years. The settlement of Astore and Gilgit was completed in 1894. The main features of Mr. Lawrence's work which had the complete approval of His late Highness and the State Council were :—

(a) The State demand was fixed for 10 years.

(b) As a first step towards substitution of payment in cash for payment in kind, the proportion of the latter was so fixed as to cause the least hardship to the cultivators and maintain the confidence of the city population.

312 operations were conducted below the town of Baramulla for removal of silt and other barriers. Scientific departments
474 were established. The Co-operative movement was introduced.

● 648 The assistance rendered to the British Empire in
175 times of emergency and war may also be briefly mentioned. The brilliant services of the State troops in the Black Mountain, Agror Valley and Tirah expeditions met with grateful appreciation of the British Government. The contribution of the State during the Great War in man power was the highest (31,000) among all Indian States.
652 The cost of maintaining the troops sent over-seas came to Rs. 1,11,00,000. In addition, the State contributed three-fourths of a crore to the war loan. Battle Honours were won by the State forces in several fronts in East Africa and Palestine.

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484 greater housing accommodation for travellers, huts have been constructed at a number of places. It is proposed to construct a chain of huts in Jammu. The existing camping grounds have been improved and new ones provided. A cafe has been established at Kokarnag and a tea shop opened at Patni top. Facilities have been provided for anglers. The rules regarding fishing and shooting in the State are liberal and more and more licences are issued every year.

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701 Eight Units of the State Army have been placed, one after the other, at the disposal of the Government of India for active service outside the State. Of these, the two Mountain Batteries and the Artillery Training Centre have been transferred to the Indian Army permanently. The demand for recruits is being met, and the Government of India have raised a large number of recruits for the Indian Army from the State.

652 Against the expenditure of Rs. 8,81,500 incurred by the Government on the Army Department in connection with the measures connected with the war during 1939-40, the expenditure for war purposes in the Army Department rose to Rs. 25,62,000 during 1941-42 and Rs. 22,75,000 during 1942-43. The total Army expenditure in 1941-42 amounted to Rs. 76 lakhs. The pay of all ranks serving in the State Army was recently revised, and the rates of Kit and H. M. Allowances were raised from Rs. 50 and Rs. 25 respectively to Rs. 120 and Rs. 50 respectively.

648 The State forces have distinguished themselves in the battles of Keran (Eretrea) and Damascus (Syria). His Highness presented eighteen completely equipped motor ambulances, and also placed a portion of the Kashmir House, Delhi, at the disposal of the Government of India free of rent for the accommodation of Government offices. Recently, His Highness placed his Lock-heed plane at the disposal of the Government of India for use in connection with the war.

747 His Highness has set up an influential War Aid Committee with Her Highness the Maharani Sahiba as President to raise funds for providing comforts for the troops. His Highness subscribes a sum of Rs. 1,00. per mensem

747 from his Privy Purse towards the aims and objects of the Committee. The rest of the members of His Highness' family contribute Rs. 850 per mensem. In addition to the monthly contributions, His Highness has been making big donations to the funds of the Kashmir War Aid Committee from the savings effected by curtailment of expenditure on a number of ceremonies in connection with His Highness' person. Government servants also contribute voluntarily one per cent. of their monthly gross salaries to the funds of the War Aid Committee. Provincial District and Tehsil War Aid Committees affiliated to the Central Committee, have been formed to collect funds in aid of the war and to disseminate correct information regarding happenings in connection with the war. The total receipts of the War Fund up to the end of June 1943 amounted to Rs. 6,91,586 of which Rs. 5,46,213 have been spent in providing amenities to troops and other activities calculated to contribute towards winning the war. A goodly collection of trinkets was collected and forwarded to Her Excellency the Marchioness of Linlithgow for her Silver Trinket Fund by Her Highness the Maharani Sahiba who issued an appeal for trinkets of gold or silver, broken bits of gold or silver ornaments, toys, etc., and old *zari* borders of brocade. Ladies' Working Parties have been organized and the co-operation of boys' and girls' schools and Hospitals as well as of private medical practitioners and medical officers in Government employ has been secured for the purpose of assisting in the production of articles required for the troops at the front. As a result of the labours of Ladies' Working Parties, the War Aid Committee has sent parcels of goods for the use of forces overseas. In addition to knitted woollen garments, gramophones with records and needles, cigarettes and other articles are being sent from time to time.

• 648 To commemorate the visit to India of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-Shek and Madam Chiang, China Day was celebrated throughout the State on the 7th March 1942. On this occasion, a sum of Rs. 20,393-4-0 was collected in voluntary contributions in aid of China War Charities and the War Aid Committee added a sum of Rs. 5,000 to this amount and sent a cheque for Rs. 25,393-4-0 to Madam Chiang.

747 In response to His Excellency the Viceroy's appeal,

L57 alleviating the distress of the poor. The gift rendered it possible for the Government to supply food-grains to the poor at Jammu at the cheapest possible rates, viz., 15 seers of food-grains (12 seers of wheat and 3 seers of rice) per head per month, for Rs. 2-8-0 only, when in the adjoining British territory ordinary wheat was selling at Rs. 9-4-0 per maund and ordinary rice at Rs. 17-4-0 per maund. But, as the quota of wheat and gram fixed by the Government of India was drastically reduced, and the relief from His Highness' Fund had to be distributed to the poorer classes living in all parts of the State on an equitable basis, the poor relief shops in Jammu City were closed in August last.

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L48 His Highness has played an important part in the joint effort concerning the political future of British India and the Indian States. At the first Round Table Conference, His Highness uttered the following memorable words : " As the Allies of Britain, we stand solidly by the British connection. As Indians and loyal to the land of our birth, we stand as solidly as the rest of our countrymen for our land's enjoyment of a position of honour and equality in the British Commonwealth..... ..... Neither England nor India can afford to see this Conference end in failure. We must resolve to succeed. Difficulties shall not be insuperable. We must exercise patience, tact and forbearance and be inspired by mutual understanding and goodwill; and we must give and take. If we succeed, England no less than India gains. If we fail, India no less than England loses." His Highness kept in touch with the subsequent conferences in London, and other deliberations held from time to time in connection either with the States or with India as a whole. Before the commencement of the talks of Sir Stafford Cripps with Indian leaders towards the end of March last, His Highness issued an historical statement, in the course of which he said that it was the duty of the Princes to show that as patriots, they were desirous that their countrymen should feel themselves the equals of nationals anywhere in the world. His Highness expressed the view that every autonomous unit of a self-governing India

648 will share its fiscal and financial advantages as well as its responsibilities and burdens, and that, therefore, such of the Princes' prerogatives as enable them to ameliorate the lot of their people should remain. His Highness urged that the Princes could not logically object to dealing with a Central Government in India which the Crown might constitute in future, and they had no reason to assume that they would not get a square deal from such a Government.

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Kashmir AV1
1: Leitner L-3 (1866-93) 1893? AV3 Dard AV3
Burusho AV7


000 Part I. of a large work, I may claim to speak with some authority as regards these districts, even if I had no other claim. The point which I wish to specially contradict at present, is the one relating to the Russians bringing themselves into almost direct contact with "the Hunza and other tribes subject to Kashmir and, as such, entitled to British protection and under British control."

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When I crossed the then Kashmir frontier in 1866, in the disguise of a Bokhara Maulvi, armed with a testimonial of Muhammadan theological learning, I found that the tribes of Hunza, Nagyr, Dareyl, Yasin, and Chitrál had united under the leadership of the last-named to expel the Kashmir invaders from the Gilgit Fort. My mission was a purely linguistic one; but the sight of dying and dead men along the road, that of heads stuck up along the march of the Kashmir troops, and the attempts made on my life by our feudatory, the late Maharaja of Kashmir, compelled me to pay attention to other matters besides the languages, legends, songs, and fables of the interesting races with whom I now came in contact under circumstances that might not seem to be favourable to the accomplishment of my task. I had been warned by the then Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjab, Sir Donald McLeod, whose like we have not seen again, not to cross the frontier, as the tribes beyond were supposed to be cannibals; but as I could not get the information of which I was in search within our frontier, I had to cross it. My followers were frightened off by all sorts of wild stories, till our party was reduced from some fifty to three, including myself. The reason for all this was, that the Maharaja was afraid that I should find out and report his breach of the Treaty by which we sold Kashmir to him in 1846, and in which the Indus is laid down as his boundary on the west. In 1866, therefore, at any rate, even the tenure of Gilgit, which is on the other side of the Indus, was contested and illegal, whilst the still more distant Hunza and Nagyr had more than once inflicted serious punishment on the Kashmir

1: Leitner L-3 (1866-93) 1893? AV3 Dard

110 *Treaty between Kashmir and the British Government.*

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"TREATY between the British Government on the one part and MAHARAJAH GOLAB SING of JUMMOO on the other, concluded on the part of the British Government by FREDERICK CURRIE, ESQUIRE, and Brevet-Major HENRY MONTGOMERY LAWRENCE, acting under the orders of the Right Honourable SIR HENRY HARDINGE, G.C.B., one of Her Britannic Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council, Governor-General, appointed by the Honourable Company to direct and control all their affairs in the East Indies, and by MAHARAJAH GOLAB SING in person.

ARTICLE I.

The British Government transfers and makes over for ever, in INDEPENDENT POSSESSION, TO MAHARAJAH GOLAB SING AND THE HEIRS MALE OF HIS BODY, all the hilly or mountainous country, with its DEPENDENCIES, situated to the EASTWARD of the River Indus and westward of the River Ravee, including Chumba, and excluding Lahul, being part of the territories ceded to the British Government by the Lahore State, according to the provisions of Article IV. of the Treaty of Lahore, dated 9th March, 1846.

ARTICLE II.

The eastern boundary of the tract transferred by the foregoing Article to Maharajah Golab Sing shall be laid down by Commissioners appointed by the British Government and Maharajah Golab Sing respectively for that purpose, and shall be defined in a separate Engagement after survey.

ARTICLE III.

In consideration of the transfer made to him and his heirs by the provisions of the foregoing Articles, Maharajah Golab Sing will pay to the British Government the sum of seventy-five lakhs of Rupees (Nanukshahee), fifty lakhs to be paid on ratification of this Treaty, and twenty-five lakhs on or before the first October of the current year, A.D. 1846.

ARTICLE IV.

The limits of the territories of Maharajah Golab Sing shall not be at any time changed without the concurrence of the British Government.

ARTICLE V.

Maharajah Golab Sing will refer to the arbitration of the British Government any disputes or questions that may arise between himself and the Government of Lahore or any other neighbouring State, and will abide by the decision of the British Government.

ARTICLE VI.

Maharajah Golab Sing engages for himself and heirs to join, with the whole of his Military Force, the British troops, when employed within the hills, or in the territories adjoining his possessions.

ARTICLE VII.

Maharajah Golab Sing engages never to take, or retain in his service, any British subject, nor the subject of any European or American State, without the consent of the British Government.

ARTICLE VIII.

Maharajah Golab Sing engages to respect in regard to the territory transferred to him, the provisions of Articles V., VI., and VII., of the separate Engagement between the British Government and the Lahore Durbar, dated March 11th, 1846.

ARTICLE IX.

The British Government will give its aid to Maharajah Golab Sing in protecting his territories from external enemies.

ARTICLE X.

Maharajah Golab Sing acknowledges the supremacy of the British Government, and will, in token of such supremacy, present annually to the British Government one horse, twelve perfect shawl goats of approved breed (six male and six female), and three pairs of Cashmere shawls.

This Treaty, consisting of ten Articles, has been this day settled by Frederick Currie, Esquire, and Brevet-Major Henry Montgomery Lawrence, acting under the directions of the Right Honourable Sir Henry Hardinge, G.C.B., Governor-General, on the part of the British Government, and by Maharajah Golab Sing in person; and the said Treaty has been this day ratified by the seal of the Right Honourable Sir Henry Hardinge, G.C.B., Governor-General.

*Done at Umritsur, this Sixteenth day of March, in the year of our Lord One Thousand Eight Hundred and Forty-six, corresponding with the Seventeenth day of Rubbe-ool-awal 1262 Hijree.*

(Signed) H. HARDINGE. SEAL.

(Signed) F. CURRIE.
" H. M. LAWRENCE.

By order of the Right Honorable the Governor-General of India.

(Signed) F. CURRIE,
*Secretary to the Government of India, with the Governor-General.*"

2: Biscoe M-3 (1890-ca. 1920) 1922 AV4 Kashmiri
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Kashmir AV1

# A Trip to Ladakh

and arrived at the Commissioner's camp at Kargil in time for a late breakfast. His party consisted of Mr and Mrs Beech (Beech stood six feet six inches, a giant of a man); Mrs Darrah, whose husband, a great sportsman, was awaiting her in Leh; Jack Phelps and P. H. Church, who were on a long expedition to the district of the Pang Gong Lake, a salt lake 100 miles in length, and the Chang Chenmo, after "ovis ammon" and "ovis poli." I received a hearty welcome and a real good breakfast, which I much enjoyed after my forced march to catch up this party.

Kargil is the capital of a district called Purik, and is inhabited by Mohammedans of the Shiah sect. Colonel Ward mentions a curious custom in connection with the burial of their dead. An aperture is left in the earth over the grave, and a rectangular box of masonry is built over this, with a small door and window. Flour is dropped down on the body; this is done at intervals for a period of three moons. Afterwards the hole above the body is closed, as also the door and window.

That morning the Governor of the Province called on us. He was a Kashmiri Brahman, a little man, but from the size of his lower chest he evidently had done himself well. Captain Trench asked him to show him his statement of grain accounts, as there was a threatened shortage of food that autumn. He had received orders to keep large stores of grain in case of emergencies, the old fort on the hill having been requisitioned for such a purpose. The books were brought, and from them Captain Trench saw that his orders had been faithfully obeyed, and the fort was just bulging with grain, like the Governor's lower chest. Captain Trench was so pleased to hear of the great supplies that he told the Governor he would like to see how he had managed to store so

2: Biscoe M-3 (1890-ca. 1920) 1922 AV4 Kashmiri
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# A Trip to Ladakh

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much, and would visit the fort that very afternoon at three P.M.

At two-thirty the Governor with his suite arrived at our camp again, to invite the Commissioner Sahib and all his party to take tea with him at his house, but as it was such a hot day surely it would be more comfortable for the ladies if they and all the party came up later, say four-thirty P.M. Captain Trench accepted for the whole party, but said that he at any rate would visit the fort first and afterwards come on to tea. So we all climbed the hill towards the fort, and as we neared it the Governor again pressed Captain Trench to come straight to his house for tea and afterwards visit the fort, for was it not very hot?—and the evening-time would be cooler, etc. Captain Trench would not give in, and made straight for the fort, we all following him.

When we all entered through the large gateway into the quadrangle Captain Trench asked the Governor where the store-rooms were. The Governor pointed towards a certain door. Captain Trench asked the Governor to have the door opened, whereupon he called to a chaprasi to go and bring the keys. The chaprasi remained absent a long time, so the Governor again asked Captain Trench to come to his house for tea while the keys were being fetched. But no, Captain Trench was firm on the point, he would see the store first, and asked the Governor to hurry up his chaprasi. So another man was sent after the first. At last the servant arrived, breathless, with a huge bunch of large keys, and commenced trying to—or, to be truthful, pretending to—open the great lock. He went through the whole lot, but no key would fit it. So the Governor again broached the subject of tea, and apologised for the foolishness of his servant, explaining that the man with the right set of keys had left the

2: Biscoe M-3 (1890-ca. 1920) 1922 AV4 Kashmiri
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office with the keys. So Captain Trench asked the Governor to send a man after him and fetch the keys. He said that he would, but this servant with the keys lived a long way off, and it would all take time, and again mentioned tea first.

Captain Trench's patience was beginning to give out, and he said: "Do not bother about the keys: we will soon burst that door open with that big beam," pointing to one leaning against the wall.

The Governor begged him not to do that, for he would send a man running to fetch the right keys. In an extraordinarily short time, considering the great distance this man was supposed to have covered, the man arrived, puffing and blowing, playing his part well, with another (?) great bunch of keys, though uncommonly like the first bunch which had proved useless.

The keys were applied, but the lock refused to be opened. Again the Governor expressed his sorrow for the delay, and was about to suggest tea once more, when the battering-ram again was mentioned, and Captain Trench made a move towards it. Then the Governor, seeing his game was up, gave a sign, and the key turned the lock and the door swung open. Captain Trench went in; the great store-room was entirely empty: not one single sack of grain was there.

Captain Trench came out and said to the Governor: "Why did you bring me to this empty store-room? I want to see your stores of grain, and not empty rooms. The Governor apologised to Captain T., and swore at his servants for having made fools of them all, and ordered them at once to open those store-rooms where the grain was. The servants' faces were a study, and their hands and knees literally shook, as they did not know which orders they were to obey—the ones given by the Governor

2: Biscoe M-3 (1890-ca.1920) 1922 AV4 Kashmiri
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# A Trip to Ladakh

648 661 before the arrival of Captain Trench or the ones now given. However, the Governor pointed to another door, and ordered it to be opened. Again there was going to be the same waste of time over the keys, when Captain T. cut it short by stepping towards the battering-ram and asking me to help him.

Then the door was opened, and we found this store-room also absolutely empty. At last the play was over —the chief actor, forgetting all his greatness, fell on his knees before Captain T., and with hands in the attitude of prayer pleaded for mercy. Captain Trench told him to go home, and he would see him at the Public Durbar next day. So our tea with the Governor was off, and we went back to camp with much to think about. Captain Trench had caught out this scoundrel properly, but how about providing grain for the people under his care with an empty store-house? Next day was a very great day. Officials of all sorts came pouring in from all sides on their ponies—some from villages 100 miles or more distant. There were Chaukidars, Chakdars, Lambardars, Zaildars, Tehsildars, Thanidars, and I do not know how many other dars and small rajas and wazirs, with their retainers, all in their best clothes. It was a great sight. All were on the tiptoe of excitement, for they had heard how the Sahib had caught out the Brahman Governor. A few were anxious and sad, for had they not worked with him and shared in some of the loot; but the great majority had known of this wholesale robbery, but had not dared to mention it, for was not the Governor a great man, of a noble family, and in high favour at Court.

648 695 Captain Trench soon made it plain what he thought of this great scoundrel. It was a treat watching the faces of the multitude as this villain received his deserts. I

2: Biscoe M-3 (1890-ca. 1920) 1922 AV4 Kashmiri
Kashmir AV1

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would not have missed that Court of Justice for anything. There we all were, in a circle, sitting in an orchard near the rushing river, and surrounded by the great mountains as silent witnesses at the great Court of Justice.

Captain Trench must have been very tired after it all, but he possessed a great heart, and was always brimming over with spirits and humour, so I don't think he had a sleepless night. He had done an unpleasant duty uncommonly well, and he had reason to be proud of it.

That night must have been a very unpleasant one for the Governor, but it was also an exciting one for our camp near the river, for we were wakened by a tremendous gale of wind. We were all soon out of bed trying to hold our tents up, and hang on to our property. I was myself soon sprawling on my bed with my tent on the top of me, and there remained until the wind had blown itself out. It was somewhat annoying to find myself defeated in this manner, but it had its amusing side also.

The following day we commenced our march towards Leh. Two of the marches were overlong and very hot, as there was no shade, and the reflection of light and refraction of heat from the wall of the rocks we passed made it rather trying. One was very thankful to have dark glasses. We started at four-thirty punctually every morning, and marched till ten A.M. to some shade, where we stayed till the evening, and then finished the march in the cool.

It was an interesting sight to watch the caravans from Central Asia and China passing, with the loads carried often on yaks, and some even on sheep's backs, the sort of sheep which grows a broad fat tail, which swings about most uncomfortably as the animal walks. The idea of loading sheep is a very practical one, for when

2: Biscoe M-3 (1890-ca.1920) 1922 AV4 Kashmiri
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W.T. 574 526 which gives most grateful shade in the hot summer weather.

As it is very broad, it is the polo ground. It seemed most strange to see the players dashing up and down the main street, often hitting the ball into the shops. Fortunately the shops in Leh do not possess glass windows, otherwise polo in that street would be an expensive amusement.

K 648 Captain Trench was finally escorted to the Residency, which was a two-storeyed stone building in quite a nice garden. There is not a great selection of trees in Leh, poplars and willows being all that I remember seeing in this part of Ladakh, but in lower Ladakh there are apricot, apple and pear trees.

The Commissioner's chief duty is to look after the traders' interests on this main caravan road from India to Central Asia, Yarkand, Turkestan and to China.

W.T. 797 I went to the Moravian missionaries, who had kindly invited Dr E. F. Neve and myself to stay with them. They have been doing a great and useful work here for many years, by means of hospital, schools, and visiting the people in their homes. They had then a congregation of about thirty Christians.

The history of one of them with whom I was connected for some years is interesting. A certain monk in a monastery in Nubra was dying, and he sent for one of the missionaries whom he knew to visit him. Nubra Valley is some fifty miles from Leh over the other side of the Kardang Pass, 17,400 feet high.

The missionary went at once, and was in time to see him before he died. The monk told him that he heard the Gospel through the preaching of the missionaries, and believed in Christ as his Saviour, but had not been bold enough to confess openly on account of the persecution